

## Message Text

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14  
ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION BERLIN  
USMISSION NATO

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E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PFOR, RO, YU  
SUBJ: CEAUSESCU'S VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA

1. SUMMARY. ACCORDING TO YUGOSLAV DCM HERE, CEAUSESCU'S SEPTEMBER 8-11 VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA WAS "MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL PAST MEETINGS" AND RESULTED IN "TOP-LEVEL" DECISION TO FURTHER INCREASE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD. ALSO NOTABLE WAS PUBLIC YUGOSLAV-ROMANIAN INTERPRETATION OF ECPC BERLIN DOCUMENT, CONTAINED IN JOINT DECLARATION, WHICH STRESSED DIVERGENT PATHS TO COMMUNISM AND PARTY INDEPENDENCE, VIEWS WHICH CONTRAST SHARPLY WITH CURRENT SOVIET EFFORTS TO DILUTE ECPC SIGNIFICANCE IN THIS REGARD. IN ADDITION, MULTI-LATERAL BALKAN COOPERATION WAS STRONGLY ENDORSED. END SUMMARY.

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2. HAVING FINALLY ARRIVED IN YUGOSLAVIA (AFTER SUDDEN CANCELLATION OF PLANNED MID-OCTOBER 1975 TRIP THERE) CEAUSESCU VISIT APPARENTLY WENT WELL AND, ACCORDING TO YUGOSLAV DCM HERE, WAS OF UNUSUAL SIGNIFICANCE, COMING AS IT DID AFTER RECENT CEAUSESCU TRIP TO USSR AND ROMANIA'S CURRENT PUBLIC RAPPROCHEMENT WITH SOVIETS. THUS TIMING WAS PROPITIOUS FOR DEMONSTRATION OF CLOSE YUGOSLAV-ROMANIAN TIES AS BALANCER. IN FACT, WE UNDERSTAND FROM YUGOSLAVS HERE THAT ROMANIANS PRESSED FOR VISIT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER CEAUSESCU'S RETURN FROM USSR. RESULTING JOINT DECLARATION IS STEP BEYOND PAST COMMUNIQUE, AND APPARENT CONCESSION TO ROMANIANS. ONE OF CONSTANT REFRAINS DURING VISIT WAS NEARLY IDENTICAL POSITIONS OF TWO COUNTRIES AT BERLIN IN PARTICULAR, BUT ALSO AT EHLSINKI. ANOTHER WAS CITATION OF THEIR RELATIONS AS MODEL FOR THOSE BETWEEN SOCIALIST STATES, WITH CLEAR IMPLICATION THAT TIES WITH OTHER SOCIALIST BRETHREN COULD STAND SOME IMPROVEMENT.

3. MOST INTERESTING AND INDICATIVE OF THEIR JOINT SUSPICIONS THAT SOVIETS MAY CURRENTLY BE ENGAGED IN EFFORT TO REWRITE ECPC BERLIN DOCUMENT, IS THIRD PARA OF JOINT DECLARATION WHICH STRONGLY REAFFIRMS WELL-KNOWN YUGOSLAV AND ROMANIAN VIEWS ON INDEPENDENCE OF EACH PARTY AND ITS RIGHT TO PURSUE ITS OWN ROAD TO SOCIALISM. DECLARATION ALSO CONTAINS A STRONG ENDORSEMENT OF MULTILATERAL BALKAN COOPERATION AS WELL AS CALL FOR RAPID EXAMINATION OF RESULTS OF ATHENS CONFERENCE BY PARTICIPATING STATES, WHICH YUGOSLAV DCM INTERPRETED AS MEANING THAT BALKAN COOPERATION WILL NOW PRESS AHEAD EVEN WITHOUT THE BULGARIANS, IF THEY INSIST IN CONTINUED FOOT-DRAGGING.

4. WHILE MOST OF ECONOMIC ACCORDS SIGNED DEALT WITH APPARENTLY NOW-ON-TRACK SECOND IRON GATES PROJECT, YUGOSLAV DCM AFFIRMED THAT EVEN MORE IMPORTANT WAS "TOP-LEVEL" ASSENT TO EXPAND EXISTING AND TO BEGIN NEW JOINT ECONOMIC PROJECTS IN VARIETY OF FIELDS, ALTHOUGH HE WOULD ONLY CITE MACHINE BUILDING AS EXAMPLE. (COMMENT. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED TO KNOW IF BELGRADE HAS ANY FURTHER INFO ON THIS.)

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5. STRONG LANGUAGE ON KOREA IN DECLARATION (AS COMPARED TO LAST JULY 1974 COMMUNIQUE) AND PARA ON NATIONALITIES WERE APPARENTLY AT YUGOSLAV BEHEST, ALTHOUGH ROMANIANS HAD NO REASON TO DISAGREE. (COMMENT: HUNGARIANS HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY HAVE BEEN TRYING TO GET SIMILAR LANGUAGE I.E., THAT NATIONALITIES SHOULD ALSO SERVE AS BRIDGE BETWEEN PEOPLES, INTO THEIR COMMUNIQUE WITH

ROMANINS FOR SOMETIME NOW, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS.)

6. PROTOCOL PROBLEMS WERE APPARENTLY SOLVED BY HAVING TITO AT AIRPORT TO GREET CEAUSESCU UPON ARRIVAL, BUT NOT PRESENT FOR DEPARTURE. EVEN THIS SOLUTION WAS REPORTEDLY ARRIVED AT ONLY THROUGH MUCH ROMANIAN PRESSURE AND GRUDGING YUGOSLAV ACCEPTANCE, GIVEN TITO'S PERCARIOUS HEALTH.

7. COMMENT: WE HAVE IMPRESSION HERE THAT THERE WAS SOME YUGOSLAV UNEASINESS OVER CEAUSESCU'S RECENT TRIP TO THE USSR, AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE.NSVF, IN FACT, YUGOSLAV-ROMANIAN ECONOMIC AND OTHER TIES WILL NOW BE SIGNIFICANTLY EXPANDED, MUCH OF MOTIVATION LIKELY LIES IN YUGOLSAV DESIRE TO GUARD AGAINST ANY EROSION OF CEAUSESCU'S POLITICAL WILL TO RESIST POSSIBLE NEW SOVIET OVERTURES.  
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